

Politics of the Country.

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SPEECH OF HON. I. WASHBURN, JR.,

OF MAINE,

In the House of Representatives,

JUNE 21, 1856.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

Mr. WASHBURN, of Maine, said :

Mr. CHAIRMAN : In this year, 1856, a great moral and political battle is to be fought. It is the old quarrel—the strife of centuries and continents—but one of its decisive conflicts is here and now impending. As it shall be decided, so will run the history of America and of mankind for ages. The cause, so distinctly presented; the parties, so boldly arrayed; the theatre, so vast and commanding; the time, so quick and ripe; raise it to an elevation immeasurably above any controversy which the world has witnessed for two hundred years. In this elemental war—this struggle of principles—shall justice, truth, and humanity, prevail, and give the future to an earnest, increasing, generous civilization, under whose beneficent sway the earth shall be subdued, the forces of nature laid open, and the laws of human progress truly interpreted and made subservient to the advancement and welfare of the race? or, failing, shall this civilization itself, the child of so many struggles, agonies, and hopes—

“The heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time”—be left to the fate which everywhere and forever attends the supremacy of wrong, falsehood, and inhumanity?

Sir, it is for you, for the representatives of the people here, but rather for the people themselves in the primary places of power, in the forum which precedes the caucus and the ballot-house, to answer. The powers of right and wrong are face to face: and, voluntarily or otherwise, upon the one side or the other, you are all enrolled in the service.

The old controversy goes on, but the issues change. No longer have men to array themselves against the particular and individual wrongs which the reformers of past ages denounced and resisted. Not alone the work of Luther, not merely the work of Hampden, not of Milton, Marvell, and Sydney, of Washington and Jeffers-

son, is for this time or for you—but another and greater, as embracing theirs and that of every reformer and philanthropist, of every lawgiver and statesman, in the annals of Christendom. It is yours to deny, to encounter, and to exterminate the monstrous delusion, that man can rightfully and justly *hold property in man*. Since the days of Luther, no such cause, in the vastness of its issues, has summoned men to the battle-fields of principle and opinion. That Slavery is right is now upheld and maintained openly, boldly, defiantly, before the world, and impiously before Heaven. We are told that it is *founded in truth and justice*; that it is *so wise and proper*, that it ought not to be limited in its benefits to any portion of the country; and that to enlarge its area is a duty so high and compulsory as to justify the breach of compacts and compromises, and the violation of the most solemn pledges of honor and good faith.

This is the doctrine of to-day, spoken in words by the representatives of half of the States in the Union, and written legibly—ay, sir, in letters of crimson, which neither heat, nor frost, nor thunder shall obliterate, in their works and deeds. There is at last no room for error, doubt, or deception. No longer do slaveholders excuse the system of Slavery, and bewail the misfortune of its existence. They justify it, and plant themselves upon it as a blessing, which they propose the people of the free States shall enjoy as well as themselves, whether they will or not, or have no advantage from the common territory of the nation; for they know full well—none better, because they have seen it all their lives—that where slave labor is permitted, free labor is virtually excluded; that if Kansas admits slave labor, she at the same time and by the same act repels free labor; I mean such labor as exists and thrives at the North—intelligent, thrifty, respectable free labor, and not the ragged, untaught, white labor of the slaveholding States.

Since Slavery has taken this position, it becomes

the people of the free States to inquire more carefully than they have found necessary heretofore into its character and claims. To us of the North, the whole question is now opened. If Slavery be right, it is very plain that there ought to be no clogs upon its feet, and it is our duty to cease all opposition to its extension; if wrong, it ought to be put in fetters, and it is our duty to keep it in the narrowest possible constitutional limits. The claim that it shall go into Kansas implies the declaration that it is right. The real question, disguise it as men will, is, Is it *wrong*? For the one-idea man who thinks it is, and says so, I have respect; for the doughface who believes that it is *not*, and says practically by his acts and votes that it *is*, I have nothing but loathing and unutterable scorn. Sir, if Slavery be right in the largest sense, it is beneficent—it is for the advantage of the slave, the slaveholder, and of the State. If it wrong either, it can have no good foundation in principle or in fact. If justifiable or defensible at all, it cannot be limited to the black. The negro is a man. He stands upright; he sees, hears, speaks, feels, as other men. He has intelligence; he converses, reasons, laughs, and weeps; requites, resents, loves, and hates. The essential part of him is not his color, his hair, or heel. The *Richmond Enquirer*, the leading Southern journal, and intelligent Pro-Slavery men generally, admit that there is no foundation in reason for limiting Slavery to the negro, and maintain that the whites who are ignorant and dependent upon the labor of their hands for subsistence ought to be held in Slavery, and that it would be better for them to be slaves than freemen. To this point I quote the *Enquirer* as follows:

"They [those holding Mr. Jefferson's doctrine] begin to reason, by assuming Slavery to be morally and religiously wrong; and the South hitherto has granted their premises, and attempted to justify Negro Slavery as an exception to a general rule, or, if wrong, as a matter of bargain between the North and the South. *The laws of God and nature are immutable, and man cannot bargain them away.* While it is far more obvious that negroes should be slaves than whites—for they are only fit to labor, not to direct—yet the principle of Slavery is itself right, and does not depend on difference of complexion."

Again, in another article, I read:

"FREEDOM IS NOT POSSIBLE WITHOUT SLAVERY. Every civil polity, and every social system, implies gradation of rank and condition. *In the States of the South, an aristocracy of white men is based on Negro Slavery; and the absence of NEGRO SLAVERY would be supplied by WHITE MEN.*"

A Mr. Fitzhugh, of Virginia, published, in 1854, a work entitled, "*Sociology for the South: or the Failure of Free Society*," and which has been extravagantly commended in the slave States, as an exposition of the foundation and philosophy of Slavery. From an appendix to this volume, I make the following extracts:

"In old countries, human wisdom can devise no effectual means to provide for the poor, where lands have become separate property, except by making slaves of those who hold no property to those

who have property, and thus, in fact, if not in form, establishing a community of property. The history of the free States of Europe, for the last sixty years, and the present condition of the poor in those States, we think conclusively prove this. All parties admit that society there requires radical change. *They must go back to domestic Slavery. CIVILIZED SOCIETY CANNOT EXIST WITHOUT IT.*" * * *

"Slavery protects the weaker members of society, just as do the relations of parent, guardian, and husband, and is as necessary, as natural, and almost as universal, as those relations." * * *

"Ten years ago, we became satisfied that Slavery, BLACK OR WHITE, was right and necessary. We advocated this doctrine in very many essays."

This is the logical and consistent Southern doctrine, and whoever believes in Slavery cannot stop until he reaches this startling position. An African who is as intelligent, capable, and honest, as a Caucasian, cannot be reduced to Slavery upon any principle which would not enslave the latter. Color alone dooms no man to Slavery, nor does race; for wheresoever, in all other countries than America, Slavery has been known, it has existed irrespective of color or race. In Greece and Rome, under such civilizations as they enjoyed, this relic of barbarism was recognised and affirmed; and it is found at this day, in a mitigated form, in the hybrid civilization of Russia—in no one of which countries have the relations between the enslaver and the enslaved been determined by considerations of race and color, so much as by those of intelligence and will on the one hand, and ignorance and degradation upon the other. Originating in a barbarous age, the practice of Slavery was founded in the right of the strongest, the bloody charter of force. The weaker, without respect to color, feature, or race, was subjected to the stronger, and made his thrall. The title of the robber was that of the first slaveholder. Having its origin in violence and wrong, and existing in subversion of natural right and justice, its character, tenacity, and influence, are such as belong to, and proceed from, violence and wrong, everywhere and always. This is the inexorable and universal law: what a man sows, that also shall he reap. It is the penalty of Slavery, to be punished whenever it is embraced. Here is its doom, as inevitable as it is dreadful, that it must breathe its own atmosphere, and, after its kind, propagate fraud, vice, corruption, weakness, barbarism. No power, short of that which suspends the operation of the laws of earth and heaven, can withdraw it from the consequences and penalties its own nature postulates and invites. It may seem to flourish for a time, but, false and unnatural in its essence, its prosperity is unsubstantial and illusory. As it can have no true life, what at times may present this appearance is the hectic of disease rather than the glow of health. Wrong everywhere, and in all ages, it is now as it was in the beginning and ever shall be, a curse to the land in which it exists; and to all whom it affects—not more to the slave than to the slave-owner and others; less it may be, for in less de-

gree in him may the life's life be cankered and consumed. The evil which breaks upon the bodies of men may leave the soul, however undeveloped, whole and uncorrupted; while that which, in mocking kindness, leaves the mortal free, may assail with subtle and relentless purpose the immortal part of man.

Mr. Chairman, I will say nothing for offence—nothing for the sake of wounding the feelings of any man: God forbid! But, sir, I must declare frankly—and no true man will complain of me for so doing—the opinions which I do most sincerely and devoutly entertain. The thoughts which possess me, and which I cannot bridle, will be uttered. Feeling that Slavery is the weakness and misfortune of the South, I can have no word of reproach or complaint, merely as such, against her, but, though she does not thank me for it, regret and commiseration rather. And did she not seek to extend the evil which oppresses her to other States, and to reduce to her own unfortunate condition the vast territory of the United States occupying the heart of the continent, I would have no occasion, and perhaps no excuse, for engaging in this discussion. But when she assails my constituents, and strikes at their rights, the cause is theirs and mine, and she must permit me to resist what she has no claim to enforce, and to talk with her frankly of the reasons which constrain such resistance. I should do great injustice to the intelligent and straightforward people whom I have the honor to represent here, if I failed for any reason to speak the truth, and the whole truth, so far as I have received it, and to act faithfully and fearlessly up to its commands. Some one has said, "It is a dire calamity to have a slave, but an inexorable cause to be one;" to be a voluntary slave to the opinions, the errors, the caprices, and prejudices, of others. The wretched bondman,

"Who, with a body filled, and vacant mind.

Gets him to rest, cram'd with distressful bread,"

feels no curse, and endures no shame, like him who, having in his soul a great truth, interesting to mankind, is base enough to suppress it, that falsehood may occupy its place.

Of the evil and wrong of Slavery, so far as respects the slave, I do not propose to speak at length. They are so gross and obvious, and so much has been said and written upon the subject, that to do so would be, one might hope, a work of supererogation. A system which buys and sells men, women, and little children, as if they were brutes; which regards not the relation of husband and wife; separates parent and child; which mocks the ties of kindred, and swamps, in the foul and dismal waters of greed and sensuality, the sweetest and holiest affections of the heart, can require no exposition from me. A poor woman, fleeing from Slavery, weary, exhausted, famishing, comes trembling and speechless to your door, and supplicates you with her eyes so passionately, so beseechingly, that a heart of flint would dissolve before her, to have pity on her and the child she still clutches to her breast; but the necessities of this system are so imperious, and its securities so doubtful, because of the severity with which it bears upon

its victims, that you may not heed her, or only heed to betray!

No, sir, no; you cannot make this thing of Slavery right. God did not make it right. That He permits it for wise and beneficent purposes does not detract from its essential wrong, nor justify its supporters and apologists. That He did not make it right, may be read in the consequences and penalties which attach to the dominant races wherever it exists. No civilization, and no nation, in the history of the world, have tolerated Slavery with impunity: decay and death have followed its embrace in all countries and all ages. It could not have been otherwise; and a different fate cannot await the American people, if they shall commit themselves irrecoverably to this giant wrong. Of the laws by which the world is governed, perhaps none is better ascertained, or more generally recognised by its soundest thinkers, than that which requires every man to be his own architect and builder. As a man *doeth*, so is he. Who would be free, or strong, or wise, or great, himself must strike the blow. No vicarious offices suffice here: neither men nor States can be saved from without: no learning, no freedom, or strength, can be true and real, which come not of exercise and achievement; and no community can have the advantage of these, in which there is not the largest competition among all the classes and races of which it is composed.

Where Slavery exists, the physical and manual labor is performed by the servile class, and such labor becomes servile and dishonorable. Where, as in the Southern States, the slaves are composed of the African or black race, the blacks do the work; and what they do, it is not reputable for white men to engage in, and they do not where they can avoid it; and thus they live upon the muscles and labor of others, which is the next thing to no life, or to vegetating. And, hence, habits of idleness and indolence creep over the dominant class, and bind them in a slavery, if not as galling, more hopeless than that to which they have subjected others. The greatest evil which can befall a man, a race, or a nation, is to be removed from the necessity to labor. To withdraw a class from physical and mental labor, is to inflict a vital injury upon that class, and to assure its deterioration. When men are placed beyond the necessity to labor, the thews and sinews of mind and body are relaxed; the freshness, activity, and vigor, without which there is no strength, and but little life, are unfelt; habits of thrift and economy are not cultivated; and the spirit of enterprise is undeveloped. This is already being demonstrated by the experience of the South. From the operation of all-pervading laws, the labor of that country is of the rudest and simplest kinds, and is almost wholly confined to agriculture. There is no building or sailing of ships by their people, and no manufactures among them to make any account of. What the earth will produce by the old processes of cultivating it they have—no more, and never will have more. The laborer has no spur to effort; and the master has lost, through inactivity and the habits of his position, the ambition and

energy indispensable to all progress; and so the years roll on, witnessing no improvement; the soil, in absence of skillful husbandry, becomes more and more exhausted, and the shadows of poverty creep over and darken all the land.

The influence of Slavery upon the prosperity of a community can be no better illustrated than by a reference to the history of Virginia, the mother of States and statesmen, as she has been called—half-sister of decay, as she is. At a period not remote, says her late Governor, she stood pre-eminent as a commercial State; her trade exceeded that of all New England; and the city of New York, in the extent of her shipping and commerce, was behind the ancient borough of Norfolk. At the time of the Revolutionary war, the commerce of Virginia was four times that of New York. In 1853, the imports into the latter were \$180,000,000, and into the former less than \$100,000. Whence this remarkable change? Is it because the location, soil, climate, or natural facilities, of the "Old Dominion," are inferior to those of the "Empire State?" Certainly not; for it is true, as Governor Johnson says, that "Virginia has greatly the advantage over any portion of the North, in all the elements requisite to constitute a commercial and prosperous community." There is but one answer, and that lies expanded before the eyes of all men. It is, that Virginia is a slave and New York a free State. Virginia may try as many expedients and palliatives as she pleases, but she cannot change her destiny without changing her system of labor. She may increase her debt, absolute and contingent, of \$35,000,000 to \$350,000,000, if she chooses, and lay off her entire area into a network of railroads, and it will avail her not, so long as the fatal arrow sticks in her side. When she shall be wise and strong enough to withdraw it, she will enter upon a high career of prosperity and happiness, and not before.

The circumstances of Slavery and its influence are such, that wherever it largely exists there can be no successful commerce, because there cannot be the industry and energy which create and protect it. They build railroads in the South to-day, as they did, to some extent, in the North, in the inception of those enterprises, by loaning the credit of State Governments. They establish banks in several of the States, not upon the surplus capital of the country, for of this there is little, but upon moneys hired for that purpose upon the bonds and scrip of the States. I noticed in a newspaper, not long ago, that a city in one of the Southern States was to be sold upon execution, in payment of debts contracted for water-works, gas-works, and a hotel! Where, but in a slave State, would not the expedients of private enterprise and capital be sufficient for purposes like these?

Senator CLAY, of Alabama, has drawn a most gloomy picture of things at the South. In an address, delivered not long ago, he says:

"I can show you, with sorrow, in the older portions of Alabama, and in my native county of Madison, the sad memorials of the artless and exhausting culture of cotton. Our small

planters, after taking the cream of their lands, unable to restore them by rest, manures, or otherwise, are going further west and south, in search of other virgin lands, which they may and will despoil and impoverish in like manner. Our wealthier planters, with greater means, and no more skill, are buying out their poor neighbors, extending their plantations, and adding to their slave force. The wealthy few, who are able to live on smaller profits, and to give their blasted fields some rest, are thus pushing off the many who are merely independent. Of the 20,000,000 dollars annually realized from the sale of the cotton crop of Alabama, nearly all not expended in supporting the producers, is reinvested in land and negroes.

"Thus the white population has decreased, and the slave increased, almost *pari passu*, in several counties in our State. In 1825, Madison county cast about three thousand votes; now, she cannot cast exceeding two thousand three hundred. In traversing that county, one will discover numerous farm-houses, once the abode of industrious and intelligent freemen, now occupied by slaves, or tenantless, deserted, and dilapidated; he will observe fields, once fertile, now unfenced, abandoned, and covered with those evil harbingers, fox-tail and broomsedge; he will see the moss growing on the mouldering walls of once thrifty villages, and will find 'one only master grasps the whole domain,' that 'once furnished happy homes for a dozen white families. Indeed, a country in its infancy, where fifty years ago scarce a forest tree had been felled by the axe of the pioneer, is already exhibiting the painful signs of senility and decay apparent in Virginia and the Carolinas.'

In a recent speech in the Senate, I know the Senator has taken exception to the use which has been made of this quotation: and he alleges that he had reference to consequences resulting from unskillful husbandry, rather than from the existence of Slavery. But, sir, his explanation does not relieve him. *Why is the husbandry of the Southern States thus unskillful?* Their lands are being worn out and exhausted, as the Senator says, and they have not the enterprise, skill, or means, to renovate them, or, as our Yankee farmers would say, to "bring them to." Under this system, the country grows poorer, year by year. So, while in the North railroad stockholders count with certainty upon a constant increase of business and traffic, those in the South must, after a few years at furthest, look for a gradual decrease upon all but a few great trunk routes. As there are no manufactures in a slaveholding country, towns and villages do not grow up on the lines of road therein, and the chief articles of transportation are the products of agriculture, which, as the lands become exhausted under the Southern processes of agriculture, will gradually but certainly fall off. These roads, built upon State credit, and usually at extravagant prices, because not so closely looked after as those which are managed by the proprietors themselves, and for the same reasons more loosely operated than those chiefly owned by individual stockholders, will, it may be well feared, be able in many

cases, to pay but little more than their running expenses. This is a dark picture, no doubt, and shades already too large a portion of our American landscape.

Mr. Chairman, as nothing flourished where the foot of the Visigoth had been, so there can be no prosperity beneath the tread of Slavery. Not merely does it paralyze everything like enterprise and improvement, but it benumbs life upon all its sides—intellectual, æsthetic, and moral, as well as material. Not more noticeable is the scarcity of merchant princes, cunning artisans, and intelligent laborers, at the South, than the utter destitution of any names in her midst of distinguished note in science, art, and literature. Her Franklins, Bowditches, Sillimans, and Clevelands, where are they? The names of her painters and sculptors are unwritten. Among her historians are no Irving, Prescotts, or Bancrofts. Upon the roll of novelists she inscribes the name of Simms; but shows no Cooper, Paulding, Hawthorne, Stowe, or Curtis. Of the one hundred and forty-one poets, of whom biographies are given in Griswold's "Poets and Poetry of America," only fifteen are natives of the slave States; and among these are no Longfells, Bryants, Whittiers, Willises, and Hallecks. The *Minnesingers* are no longer found in the land of chivalry; and the sunny South has no power to quicken the "vision and the faculty divine." Indeed, sir, the city of Portland, in my own State, has made more contributions to literature, which the world will not willingly let die, than all the slaveholding States put together.

Look we to the manners, customs, social codes, and moral standards, of this section of country, and we discover not less distinctly the signs and workings of the "peculiar institution." Founded as it is in violence, the relic of a barbarous age, it brings forth fruits after its kind. Where it flourishes, the duel, the practice of carrying arms, of answering speeches with bludgeons, and of settling disputes by the decisions of Judge Lynch, are recognised and established institutions. These are the streams whose fountain of bitter waters is Slavery. As the system came from barbarism, so thitherwards does it tend. That its progress may be arrested ere it be too late, and that, through the instrumentality of the highest type of civilization which the world has seen, it may, in the language of General Scott, be "ameliorated even to extermination," should be the prayer of every lover of his country and of humanity.

And, sir, now, when its trial hour has come, and men, knowing not what they do, and struggling blindly amid the difficulties and perils with which it has encompassed them, arise, and in the name of half of the States of the Union announce to their neighbors and to the world that it is right and just, and therefore ought not only to be perpetuated where it exists, but also extended over the whole country, and that, so far as they have the power, it *shall be*—you will not think it strange if, in the fullness of an unflinching conviction, and in all faithfulness, the people of the free States warn them of their error, and

declare to them that their purposes cannot, must not, be consummated.

Citizens of the free States—of the rugged North, and of the teeming West! as you look out upon your magnificent cities, and countless thriving villages, the great marts of traffic, and the ever-busy haunts of honest industry—upon your smiling farms and pleasant homes, at once the sign and the achievement of free institutions, say, are you prepared to cast them off; that you may enjoy in their place the "benefits and blessings" of Slavery?

I now proceed to the consideration of the question—the practical question immediately before the country—what are the designs and purposes of the South, in reference to Slavery, and particularly to its extension? These have already been stated generally; but the inquiry is too important and vital to be dismissed without further discussion.

From the extracts which I have made from Southern writers, and which might be indefinitely extended by quoting from the works of Calhoun and others, and from the speeches of Southern men in Congress, it sufficiently appears that the prevailing doctrine at the South is, that Slavery is a positive good, or, to use the language of Mr. Fitzhugh, that the Southern people have become satisfied that "*Slavery is morally right, that it will continue ever to exist, and that it is as profitable as it is humane.*" The corollary from this, that, being right, profitable, and humane, it ought not to be restricted to any particular section of country, but should be permitted to spread its blessings far and wide, accords with the express declarations and the avowed purposes of proslavery men. They mean to make Slavery national, and not to stop in their work of propaganda until they shall have carried it into all the Territories—ay, and into ALL THE STATES IN THE UNION. A brief review of their movements and doctrines will establish this position beyond dispute.

Slavery, like everything founded in fraud and wrong, is violent and aggressive. The condition of its existence is aggression. Its dissolution will commence, the moment its exterior boundaries are established. Let it be known that Slavery in the United States can go no further, and that moment its doom is sealed. It may linger in some localities for a long time, but it must inevitably fall, and be supplanted. Give Slavery no new fields to overrun and blast, and the supply of slave labor will soon exceed the demand. Then it will become unprofitable, and finally burdensome, so that the owners will set themselves at work to devise a way—and let us not doubt that when there is a will, a safe and not difficult way can be found—for its abolition. But this must and will be in their own time, and by their own methods. The South understands very well that the existence of Slavery depends upon its expansion, and it is for that reason that she is making such superhuman efforts to extend it. The gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. WARREN]—and who I understand and can well believe to be one of the first minds in his State—in an able

speech made upon this floor a few weeks ago, said :

"There is not a slaveholder, in this House or out of it, but who knows perfectly well, that, *whenever Slavery is confined within certain specified limits, its future existence is doomed; it is only a question of time as to its final destruction.* You may take any single slaveholding county in the Southern States, in which the great staples of cotton and sugar are cultivated to any extent, and confine the present slave population within the limits of that county; such is the rapid natural increase of the slaves, and the rapid exhaustion of the soil in the cultivation of those crops, (which add so much to the commercial wealth of the country,) that in a few years it would be impossible to support them within the limits of such county. Both master and slave would be starved out. And what would be the practical effect in any one county, the same result would happen to all the slaveholding States. Slavery cannot be confined within certain specified limits, without producing the destruction of both master and slave. *It requires fresh lands, plenty of wood and water, not only for the comfort and happiness of the slave, but for the benefit of the owner.* We understand perfectly well the practical effect of the proposed restriction upon our rights, and to what extent it interferes with Slavery in the States; and we also understand the *object and purpose* of that interference. If the slaveholding States should ever be so regardless of their rights and their honor, as coequal States, to be willing to submit to this proposed restriction, for the sake of harmony and peace, they could not do it. There is a great, overruling, practical necessity, which would prevent it. They ought not to submit to it upon principle if they could, and could not if they would."

Sir, here is the whole philosophy of Slavery. Do we want such a blighting and consuming curse nearer or closer to us than it is now? And shall any mere party considerations, the force of party attachments, the desire of success, or the thirst for office, induce any of us to so act and vote in the coming elections as to invite to our Northern fields the culture which (if the representations of the gentleman from Georgia may be relied upon) is now preying upon the vitals of the South? In confirmation of the views already expressed in regard to the laws which govern the system of Slavery, I would call your attention to the fact, within the recollection of every member, that about the year 1830 the subject of the prospective and ultimate abolition of Slavery was earnestly discussed in Virginia and some other States. Prior to that time, for several years, slave labor had been growing unprofitable. Florida and Louisiana had been purchased many years; and it was not perceived that there were other acquisitions likely to be made for the occupation of Slavery. The slave market was overstocked, and slaveholders began to inquire what they should do. Hence the movement of 1830 and 1831. But before any practical results were reached, events transpired which induced Southern men to abandon their schemes of emancipa-

tion, and, indeed, to speak of them as the frenzy of fanaticism.

It has been frequently asserted that the intention of the South to abolish Slavery was thwarted and defeated by the mad and ultra doctrines and schemes of the Abolitionists. But a greater mistake was never made. These were the excuse for, but not the cause of, the change which came over the Southern purpose. About the time of this Abolition controversy, it will be remembered that the Indians were removed from large portions of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, to the West, and a vast and fertile country, well adapted to the growing of cotton, was opened to slave labor. At once there was a market for slaves, the price appreciated, and the demand was active. We heard no more about the great and philanthropic work of emancipation. From that time to the present, new fields for this kind of labor have been acquired, the prices of slaves have increased, and now the all but universal cry in the slave States is, not Abolition, but extension.

In 1844, it was thought desirable to annex Texas. Mr. Calhoun considered this step indispensable to the protection of Slavery. That the work might be accomplished, Mr. Clay and Mr. Van Buren were set aside in the Presidential canvass, and Mr. Polk was elected. The annexation was consummated, and with it came New Mexico and California. The latter took care of herself, and came into the Union against a boisterous and protracted opposition—thanks to the glorious old man who then occupied the highest place of power—as a free State. But the South, with her eye steadily fixed upon the subjugation of the Continent—for this thought already possessed her, and had controlled her action, when, under the influence of Mr. Calhoun and the Nullifiers, she was induced in 1845 to insist upon the overthrow of Jacksonism in the Democratic party—successfully demanded that Texas should be permitted to be divided into five slave States, and, as such, come into the Union; and that the Jeffersonian restriction should not be applied to New Mexico and Utah. The Fugitive Slave Law was enacted, not so much to secure the return of runaway slaves, as to inform the North that she had a master, and to make her feel that henceforth her duty and her business would be to submit.

Well, sir, in 1852, the Whig and Democratic parties assembled in their Conventions at Baltimore, and, under instructions from the slave power, adopted platforms excluding from those parties, respectively, all who would not unsay and undo the words and deeds of a lifetime; scout the Jeffersonian doctrine of Slavery restriction; and swallow, without choking, the infamies of the Fugitive Slave Bill. This action was to be a "finality"—the be-all and end-all of Slavery agitation in the country; a finality, said Cass; a finality, sung Pierce; a "finality of a totality," roared Douglas.

"Finality," the woods,

"Finality," the floods,

"Finality," the rocks and hollow mountains rung,"

and as a finality these "peace measures!" were

sustained and endorsed. But, sir, Slavery has no finalities—she can have none but the finality of the tomb. And so (as might have been expected) the South came forward in 1854, and demanded that the landmark of Freedom established in 1820, at so great loss to the North, should be obliterated. Why? Simply and purely for the gain of Slavery—a gain to be secured in this way. Remove the barrier that excludes Slavery from Kansas and Nebraska, and it can go there, and, with the effort which Missouri is prepared to make, will go there. Besides, it was said the principle will be recognised, that Slavery is right in itself; for, if wrong, why remove an obstruction to its progress? Why take steps and initiate measures to make its introduction to free territory easy, if not inevitable? Why move at all?

Without action, Slavery was shut out of the Territories. By solemn compact, it had been agreed between North and South that it should never be admitted there; but Slavery is *so right and just*, that even barriers must be broken down, and compacts violated, in order that it may be extended. This outrage, too, was not wanting a pretext; and this was the shallow, swindling doctrine of popular sovereignty—a most false and dishonest doctrine when applied to Territories, as has been proved a thousand times. It was the Cass, Pierce, and Douglas doctrine, and served its purpose. Upon its plausibilities, Northern members, who only desired an excuse for their treachery, were ready to repose. And thus the measure—one of the most flagitious in the annals of crime—was carried—the Senator from Michigan shouting *Io Peans* to “squatter sovereignty.”

In virtue of this new doctrine, the people of the Territories, you know, were to manage their own affairs in their own way. They were to have Slavery, or not, as they should decide for themselves. No sooner, however, did it appear to Atchison and the delegates of the slave power that, notwithstanding the efforts of their secret organizations, Kansas was likely to be settled by a majority of Free State men, than measures were taken at once, we may now believe with the knowledge and complicity of the President, to prevent the people of Kansas from determining this question for themselves. Thousands of men were sent from Missouri to control the elections of the Territory. You know how, and how successful they were. The Governor, who was suspected of a desire to see fair play, was removed; and one of the most detestable characters in America, who had earned the position by his vote on the Nebraska bill and other kindred services, was appointed in his place; and I am not aware that he has in any way disappointed the expectations of his principals, the conspirators against Kansas. The people of this unhappy Territory, liberty-loving, law-abiding men, when they were overborne by the invaders from Missouri, driven from the polls, and denied the exercise of their legal rights under the organic act of the Territory, resorted to the plain and peaceable remedy open to them under the Constitution, and took the proper steps to be admitted into

the Union under such a State Constitution as the people themselves preferred.

And for these crimes alone, of being unwilling to be governed by others, and of preferring free to slave institutions, the people of Missouri, of Georgia, of South Carolina, and other slave States, have been sent there to reduce and destroy them with fire and sword; and the President, so far from interfering to save them, as was his sacred duty, has employed against them the civil and military power of the country. When infuriated mobs, paid from the treasure of the American people, have driven children from their homes at midnight, fired upon defenceless and unoffending women, and shot down our brothers in cold blood, destroyed their dwellings, and sacked and devastated their cities, the President of the United States—through his officials in Kansas, whose conduct he has never rebuked—looked calmly on, uttering no word of sympathy, and lifting no arm of protection. Thus has ended the shameful lesson of *popular sovereignty*. And now, sir, its fallacies and cheats are acknowledged and vaunted everywhere; and the unmitigated Southern doctrine, that the Constitution of the United States carries and protects Slavery in all the Territories, is adopted in substance at Cincinnati as the foundation-stone of Democracy. One step more remains to be taken, and that follows logically from the last—it is, that under the Constitution of the United States Slavery may exist in, and cannot by any power be excluded from, the several States.

Thus, Mr. Chairman, have passed away, one after another, the excuses and apologies under which Northern men have attempted to shelter themselves, as the demands of the oligarchy have grown larger and more importunate. The Wilmot proviso is denounced and spurned by all who profess to act, at the present time, with the Democratic party. The doctrine of “popular sovereignty,” so rife two years ago, is an unbidden guest, and knows not where to sit down in the house of its friends. Even its author recognises not his own bantling, maimed and disfigured as it has been by its nurses, wet and dry. He plunges and flounders in confusions and absurdities as inexplicable as they are ludicrous, and only extricates himself from his difficulties by discovering that he *always knew the Heir Apparent*. Indeed, did he not always understand that “squatter sovereignty” and “State equality” were *practically* the same thing? and did he not tell his Southern friends oft and many times that the right of Missouri to govern Kansas was not only consistent with, but was in fact the very life and nerve of his great invention? “By the Lord, I knew ye as well as he that made ye.”

Of the ultimate purposes of the slave power the North can no longer be ignorant, and to nothing but her own criminal indifference or complicity will their accomplishment, if accomplished they shall be, be chargeable. And let it not be said, “There is no danger; you have already shown the superior strength and advantages of the North.” There is danger: and it is from the comparative strength of the North and weakness of the South, paradoxical as it may

seem, that it results. The vigor and freedom of the Northern mind, its activity and constant occupation in every department of labor and inquiry, leave it but little time for political controversies, and little taste for partisan strifes; while in the South the interests, feelings, and thoughts of the privileged classes are bound up in politics alone, and mainly those which have regard to the possession of power for the security and propagation of Slavery.

A Senator from Virginia [Mr. Masox] said, a few weeks ago, that the slave power was strong because it was the power of truth; and hence it was, that, although the Southern Senators and Representatives are a minority in these Halls, their policy is predominant in Congress and the country. The South—such was the argument—is always right, and therefore is always victorious. Sir, the Russian Autocrat is strong. Is it because his power is established in truth and righteousness, or that the pillars of his throne are laid in the foundations of justice? The "Holy Alliance" was strong; but was it the power of truth that "crushed out" Poland, "subdued" Hungary, and enslaved Italy? No; it was the power of wrong and injustice—a power, in its origin, character, and exercise, akin to that wielded by the slaveholders of the South. Their power, like that of the Autocrat, is exercised by a single will; it is supreme in fifteen States of the Union; it is a reliable power, for its instincts and necessities never permit it to falter for a moment. It is sharp to perceive its own weakness, and watchful to keep in constant organization its entire forces. It brings so many votes into Congress—no more, no less; so many to national conventions, so many to the electoral colleges, for a single purpose—a single interest. It constructs the platforms and nominates the candidates in all "national" conventions, gives the shibboleth to the "national" press, and makes the laws for the nation. This it does by the unity, directness, and persistence with which it acts. "The thunder," says Schiller, "spread out into its separate tones, becomes a lullaby for children; send it forth in one quick peal, and the royal sound shall move the heavens." Such is the power of concentration.

If a Whig party practically reject the test of national orthodoxy as tendered by its Southern members, and refuse, after years of concessions, to clothe itself in the very rags of shame and moral cowardice, it is at once abandoned by them as an organization no longer useful, and no longer "national."

The Democratic party may be in power for many years, but no man in it shall dare quote, without explanation, the Declaration of Independence, or breathe in the faintest whisper an aspiration for liberty, but upon pain of being excommunicated, nicknamed, and blackguarded. He will be an outlaw in his own land, ineligible to the humblest station in its service, if he is supposed to doubt in his heart that Slavery is a blessing, or that the shooting of women and the burning of towns in Kansas, for the sake of extending it, are not good works, worthy of all

commendation as the latest manifestation of the power of truth!

And thus it is, Mr. Chairman, that the slave power has come to be formidable and dangerous. Representing only two-fifths of the people, but being a unit in its action, and governed by a single aim, it has been able to shape the policy and wield the patronage of the Government. With a purpose steady and consistent, a men bold and threatening, instant to excite fears and alarms, and prompt to encourage hopes, by holding out the bones of office and patronage, it has terrified and attracted to its ranks thousands of the timid, the easy, and the venal, in the Northern States—enough to secure its control of the Government. But, sir, thank God! these allies are not all to be depended upon by the slave power. While their ranks contain the doughfaces and cowboys of politics, they hold also men who have good feelings and honest instincts; who prefer the right to the wrong; men who have been controlled by their party ties, and kept in submission to party requirements, in the hope of better things by and by. These men, finding that all hope of improvement is vain, and perceiving at length what the true designs of this power are, will withdraw from it their support, and henceforward give their influence and their suffrages for the party which, representing the ideas and policy of Washington and Jefferson, is in truth and in fact the only national and Union party in the country.

Of this party, by whatever name it may be known, the Free State party, the People's party, or the Republican party, and of its call and mission, I beg to speak a few words.

When the Nebraska bill was passed, men began to fear that it was the purpose of a great majority of the people of the South, of both parties, to make the Government subservient to the one idea of Slavery; that it was not the Constitution for which they cared, unless it should be made to read in favor of human bondage, that the Union was valuable in their estimation only so far as it could protect property in human beings. But when it became known that the pretexts and apologies for this bill were shamelessly repudiated by those who demanded its passage, and that their fixed determination was to plant Slavery in the Territories at all hazards; and when Kansas was invaded by "border ruffians," whose "horrid deeds were blown in every eye," they became fully persuaded, each man in his own mind, that one of two things must happen—either Slavery would become national, and its care the paramount interest in the length and breadth of the country, and thus a galling and relentless tyranny be set up, which could only terminate in disunion, or, sadder still, in a base and cowardly submission by the free States, which should precede and invite the transformation of the Government from a republic of freemen to a slaveholding oligarchy; or else, that all true and courageous men, all the faithful votaries of liberty and equal rights, whether Whigs, Democrats, or Americans, would unite to inaugurate a party upon the principles of the Declaration

of Independence, for the maintenance of the Constitution, and the preservation of the Union, in all its strength and all its glory. Such a party has been called into existence; and, sir, it would be treason to Liberty and Humanity to question its ultimate triumph. It has uplifted the flag of the Union, for that is the "flag of the free heart's home;" and may it be! It keeps step to the music of the Union, for that is inspired by the immortal harmonies of Liberty.

The Pro-Slavery party, at their recent Convention at Cincinnati, resolved, among other things:

"That claiming fellowship with and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union, under the Constitution, as the paramount issue, and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic Slavery, which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, and whose avowed purposes, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion, the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the Slavery question, upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose, in its determined conservatism of the Union—non-interference by Congress with Slavery in States and Territories," &c.

"Desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union, under the Constitution, as the paramount issue." Certainly they could say this, because, in the Southern view, the Constitution gives the Territories to Slavery; and the Southern, as everybody knows, is now the Democratic view. The "paramount issue" is the preservation of the Union, under and because of a Constitution which, the South insists, protects and extends Slavery; but under any other Constitution—such, for instance, as that established by our fathers to "secure the blessings of liberty"—the preservation of the Union is not a "paramount issue." The true reading of the quotation is this: "Desiring the co-operation of all who regard the advantage and propagation of Slavery as the paramount issue," &c. That I am not mistaken in this interpretation, allow me to give some extracts from speeches of members of Congress at the present session, some of whom were in the convention, and voted for this resolution. And first I will quote from Mr. McMULLIN, of Virginia:

"And I tell you, sir, and I want the country to know it—I want the gentlemen from the free States, our Republicans, our Seward Republicans, our Abolitionists, or whatever else they may be called, to know it—that if you restore the Missouri Compromise, or repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, THIS UNION WILL BE DISSOLVED."

Mr. McMULLIN at the same time added: "I hope that if any gentleman deems I do not properly represent the state of public feeling in the South, he will correct me."

And no member has ever disclaimed the sentiments imputed to the South.

Mr. SHORTLER, of Alabama, said, a few months ago:

"We tell you plainly that we take issue with you; and whenever you repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, or refuse to admit a State on account of Slavery in her Constitution, on our equality in the Territories is sacrificed by an act of Congress, then the star of this Union will go down to RISE NO MORE."

"Should we be forced to DISSOLVE THE UNION, in order to preserve Southern institutions and Southern civilization, we will do it in peace if we can; IN WAR IF WE MUST; and let the God of BATTLES decide between us."

South Carolina, through one of her Representatives, [Mr. BOYCE,] declares as follows:

"That party which places itself upon the position of giving power to the North will eventually succeed; and when that party does succeed, in my opinion, THE UNION WILL BE AT AN END."

The North, according to Mr. BOYCE, although a majority of the States and of the people, has no right to power. Speaking through another Representative, [Mr. KEITT,] the same State admonishes us thus:

"Let the North refuse admission to a State because of Slavery in her Constitution, and the HISTORY OF THIS UNION IS CLOSED."

And the same gentleman adds:

"The South should establish in the platform the principle, that the right of a Southern man to his slaves is equal, in its length and breadth, to the right of a Northern man to his horse. She should make the recognition of the right, FULL, COMPLETE, and INDISPUTABLE."

Or, in other words, should insist upon the principle, that if a citizen of Maine may take his horse to South Carolina, and hold it there as property, the citizen of South Carolina may as well take his slave into Maine as property. This results from the Southern doctrine, now so popular, of the "equality of the States."

But, sir, I am not driven to rely upon the testimony of members of Congress upon this point. The same sentiments have been avowed in Southern Democratic conventions—as witness the following, given as a sample, from the resolutions of a convention in Mississippi, on the 8th of January last:

"That the passage by Congress of any law abolishing Slavery in the District of Columbia, or prohibiting the slave trade between the States, or prohibiting Slavery in the Territories, or other places subject to the laws of Congress, or the refusal of Congress to admit a State into the Union because its Constitution recognises Slavery, would afford evidence of a fixed and deliberate design, on the part of that body, to impair, weaken, and finally destroy the institution of Slavery in the States, would be such a violation of our rights as would amount to intolerable oppression, and justify a resort to measures of resistance."

According to this, if Congress should attempt to do now, what for sixty years it did without objection, measures of resistance will be justified. That the above extracts express the prevailing Southern doctrine, without respect to

party, I cite the following resolution recently adopted by an American State convention in Alabama:

"Resolved, That in view of the increased dangers that threaten the institutions of the South, this convention deems it necessary to, and does hereby, re-endorse and adopt the following resolution, known as the Georgia platform, to wit: That the State of Alabama, in the judgment of this convention, will and ought to resist, (as a last resort.) to a disruption of every tie which binds her to the Union, any action of Congress upon the subject of Slavery in the District of Columbia, or in places subject to the jurisdiction of Congress, incompatible with the safety, the domestic tranquillity, the rights and honor of the slaveholding States; or any act suppressing the slave trade between the slaveholding States; or any refusal to admit, as a State, any Territory applying, because of the existence of Slavery therein; or any act prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the Territories; or any act repealing, or materially modifying, the laws now in force for the recovery of fugitive slaves."

I now proceed, sir, with my reading of the Cincinnati resolution: "repudiating all sectional platforms and parties"—yes, sir, even as Caesar repudiated the "kingly crown," or as Russia repudiated Poland, or as Mr. Buchanan would repudiate Cuba. The ideas and principles of a party, I have always supposed, rather than the residence of its members, determines the question whether it is, or not, a sectional party. Tried by this standard, the Democratic party, which knows no test but Slavery, is undeniably a sectional party, and nothing else. "Which seeks to embroil the States;" as this Democratic, Pro-Slavery party has embroiled them, by the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and its machinations to spread Slavery over the Territories, whether the people wanted it or not; "and incite to treason," ay, sir, in the high as well as low places of the land. "And armed resistance to law in the Territories;" this means, that the Cincinnati Convention gives the stamp of its approbation to the handiwork of Atchison and his marauders, and recognises, as the Laws of Kansas, the pretended enactments of a Legislature of Missourians, sitting in that Territory. The convention has no censure for the people of Missouri, and other slave States, for their forays upon Kansas, and no sympathy for the wrongs of the people of that outraged Territory. Nay, sir, it virtually approves and justifies them all, and takes upon itself the burden and the infamy of transactions scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages of the world.

Sir, this platform is intensely, defiantly sectional. In all the resolutions there is no word in behalf of that great section which desires Kansas to be free—none. So far from this, they virtually take from it what never has been challenged before. Read the following resolution:

"That we recognise the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the fairly-expressed will of the majority of actual residents, and whenever

the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic Slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States."

As you will perceive, it studiously fails to "recognise the right of the people of the Territories" to pass laws, while under a Territorial form of Government, for the inhibition of Slavery. This right, which was the doctrine of popular sovereignty two years ago, as advocated by Cass and Douglas, is now ignored. The South has carried her point; for, give her the right to occupy the Territories with slaves until they shall have a sufficient population, according to her rule, to justify their admission as States, and she is sure that Slavery will be too firmly planted in them ever to be disturbed. But, not only does the convention repudiate popular sovereignty as heretofore understood in the North, but it repeals, so far as a National Democratic Platform can repeal, the Slavery restriction upon Minnesota, Oregon, and Washington.

Such, in substance, is the Democratic platform on the Slavery question. Such doctrines would have seemed strange five years ago, but they are now the very essence of Democracy. That they are embraced and maintained by the Democratic nominee is certain. Upon this point we were authoritatively advised a few weeks ago, by the honorable gentleman from the Berks district, in Pennsylvania, [Mr. JONES,] who is the champion of Mr. Buchanan in this House. He removed all doubts, if any existed, as to this gentleman's fidelity to the slave power. Speaking of any possible objections to Mr. Buchanan, in this direction, he said:

"They are answered by the fact that, twenty years ago, in the Senate of the United States, he was among the first Northern men to resist the inroads of Abolitionism."

"They are answered by his opposition to the circulation of insurrectionary documents through the mails of the United States among the slaves of the South."

"They are answered by his determined support of the bill admitting Arkansas into the American Union."

* * * * *

"They are answered by his early support of the annexation of Texas."

"They are answered by his persevering support of the Fugitive Slave Law."

"They are answered by his energetic efforts to effect the repeal of the law of the State of Pennsylvania, denying to the Federal authorities the use of her prisons for the detention of fugitive slaves."

"They are answered by his early and unyielding opposition to the Wilmot proviso."

* * * * *

"They are answered by every vote he gave in the American Congress on the question of Slavery; and by the fact, that of all Northern men, he has been among the most prominent in asserting and defending a strict construction of the Federal Constitution."

* * * * *

"They are answered by the resolutions adopted

ed by the last Democratic State Convention of Pennsylvania, and accepted and endorsed by Mr. Buchanan on Thursday, the 8th of May, in the following language :

"The duties of the President, whomsoever he may be, have been clearly and ably indicated by the admirable resolutions of the convention which you have just presented to me ; and all of which, without reference to those merely personal to myself, I heartily adopt. Indeed, they met my cordial approbation from the moment when I first perused them on the other side of the Atlantic. They constitute a platform broad, national, and conservative, and one eminently worthy of the Democracy of our great and good old State."

Among the resolutions thus accepted and endorsed by Mr. Buchanan are these :

"Resolved, That, in the repeal of the act known as the Missouri Compromise Act, and the passage of the act organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, free from unconstitutional restrictions, the last Congress performed a work of patriotic sacrifice in meeting the demands of sectional excitement by unshaken adherence to the fundamental law.

"Resolved, That this legislation cannot be deemed unnecessary, but that it was expedient to meet the questions of which it disposed, and which could never admit of a more easy settlement than at present. That we recognise in it the application to the Territories of the United States of the rule of 'equal and exact justice to all men,' of all sections of the Confederacy, which was designed by the framers of our Government, and which was defined as one of its essential principles by the immortal Jefferson." From the first of these resolutions we learn that Mr. Buchanan regards the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as a patriotic work, required by the Constitution ; or, as the resolution expresses it, "the fundamental law." And from the second, taken in connection with his endorsement, it may be inferred that he accepts the northern doctrine of "equality of the States," as defined by Mr. KERR, in the extract I have taken from his speech.

That there may be no doubt as to the extreme anti-slavery character of the Cincinnati platform, in which Mr. Buchanan stands, I quote the opinion of the highest authority upon that point. Senator DOUGLAS, in a despatch to a member of the convention, wrote thus :

"WASHINGTON, June 5, 1856—9 A. M.

DEAR SIR : I have just read so much of the platform as relates to the Nebraska bill and every question. The adoption of that noble resolution, by the unanimous vote of all the States, accomplishes all the objects I had in view in submitting my name to be used before the convention."

After this, Mr. Buchanan's position upon the every question cannot be regarded as equivocal. Nor can we wonder that a platform so ultra anti-slavery and Anti-Democratic was adopted. It was required, not more by the claims of the power, than by a regard for the opinions

and antecedents of the candidate. How, let me ask, could a more suitable platform have been constructed for one who, forty years ago, (if common fame report truly,) declared that if he had "a drop of Democratic blood in his veins, he would let it out ;" or who, twenty-five years later, in the Senate of the United States, advocated a particular monetary policy, upon the ground, and for the reason, in part, that it would tend to reduce the wages of American labor to the rates of European labor ?

Sir, I have just read that Mr. Buchanan, in his speech to the Philadelphia Keystone Club, declared that he accepted and cordially approved the Cincinnati Platform, Pro-Slavery and foreign-policy parts, and all. No doubt of it.

And now, before passing finally from this resolution, (as Mr. Buchanan adopts the whole of it,) it may not be impertinent to inquire as to his understanding of the language "claiming the fellowship of," &c. Does he claim the fellowship of the Democrats of the war of 1812—the Madisonian Democrats ; and, if so, upon what ground ? Of the Administration of Mr. Madison, and of the war, he spoke as follows, in a Fourth of July oration, in 1815 :

"Time will not allow me to enumerate all the other wild and wicked projects of this Administration. Suffice it to say, that, after they had deprived us of the means of defence, by destroying our Navy and disbanding our Army ; after they had taken away from us the power of recruiting them, by ruining commerce, the great source of our national and individual wealth ; after they had, by refusing the Bank of the United States a continuance of its charter, embarrassed the financial concerns of the Government, and withdrawn the only universal paper medium of the country from circulation ; after the people had become unaccustomed to, and of course unwilling to bear taxation, and without money in the Treasury, they rashly plunged us into a war with a nation more able to do us injury than any other in the world. What was the dreadful necessity for this desperate measure ? Was our country invaded ? No. Was it to protect our little remaining commerce from the injuries it sustained by the Orders in Council ? No. Commerce was no such a favorite, and the merchants wished for no war on that account."

Does he claim the fellowship of our adopted fellow-citizens ? It cannot be upon the strength of the following portions of the same oration :

"To secure this foreign feeling has been the labor of their leaders for more than twenty years ; and well have they been paid for their trouble, for it has been one of the principal causes of introducing and continuing them in power. Immediately before the war, this foreign influence had completely embodied itself with the majority, particularly at the West ; and its voice was heard so loud at the seat of Government, that President Madison was obliged either to yield to its dictates, or retire from office. The choice was easily made by a man who preferred his private interests to the public good, and he therefore hurried us into war utterly unprepared."

"We ought to use every honest exertion to turn out of power those weak and wicked men whose wild and visionary theories have been tested and found wanting. Above all, we ought to drive from our shores foreign influence, and cherish American feeling. Foreign influence has been in every age the curse of Republics—its jaundiced eye sees everybody in false colors—the thick atmosphere of prejudice, by which it is ever surrounded, excluding from its sight the light of reason. Let us then learn wisdom from experience, and forever banish this fiend from our society."

I have understood that he and his friends claim special fellowship with the old Henry Clay Whigs. Is this because of his connection with the long-since-exploded calumny of "bargain and corruption?" Are the old friends of Henry Clay to feel a peculiar nearness to James Buchanan, who did Mr. Clay the greatest injury it was possible for one public man to do another? This history is found at length in Colton's biography of Mr. Clay, to which I would commend the lifetime friends of the "great commoner."

General Jackson, in a letter to Carter Beverly, dated June 6, 1827, gives some account of Mr. Buchanan's part in these transactions. In this letter, he says:

"Early in January, 1825, a member of Congress of high respectability visited me one morning, and observed that he had a communication he was desirous to make to me; that he was informed there was a great intrigue going on, and that it was right I should be informed of it; that he came as a friend, and let me receive the communication as I might, the friendly motives through which it was made, he hoped, would prevent any change of friendship or feeling in regard to him. To which I replied, from his high standing as a gentleman and a member of Congress, and from his uniform friendly and gentlemanly conduct toward myself, I could not suppose he would make any communication to me which he supposed was improper. Therefore, his motives being pure, let me think as I might of the communication, my feelings toward him would remain unaltered. The gentleman proceeded: he said he had been informed, by the friends of Mr. Clay, that the friends of Mr. Adams had made overtures to them, saying, if Mr. Clay and his friends would unite in aid of Mr. Adams's election, Mr. Clay should be Secretary of State; that the friends of Mr. Adams were urging, as a reason to induce the friends of Mr. Clay to accede to their proposition, that if I were elected President, Mr. Adams would be continued Secretary of State—(innuendo, there would be no room for Kentucky;) that the friends of Mr. Clay stated the West did not wish to separate from the West, and if I would say, or permit any of my confidential friends to say, that in case I were elected President, Mr. Adams should not be continued Secretary of State, by a complete union of Mr. Clay and his friends, they would put an end to the Presidential contest in one hour; and he was of opinion it was right to fight such intriguers with their own weapons."

Mr. Clay, in a speech delivered at Lexington July 12, 1827, thought the General ought to have rendered the "distinguished member" a little more distinguished by ordering him from his presence. He said:

"A man who, if he is a member of the House of Representatives, is doubly infamous—infamous for the advice which he gave, and infamous for his willingness to connive at the corruption of the body of which he is a sworn member—is the credible witness by whom General Jackson stands ready to establish the corruption of men whose characters are never questioned!"

Mr. Webster shrewdly suspected who General Jackson's informant was; and in a letter to Mr. Clay, dated Boston, July 24, 1827, wrote:

"I have a suspicion that the respectable member of Congress is Mr. Buchanan. If this should turn out so, it will place him in an awkward situation, since it seems he did recommend a bargain with your friends, on the suspicion that such a bargain had been proposed to them on the part of friends of Mr. Adams. I am curious to see how this matter will develop itself."

The atmosphere was becoming too hot for Mr. Buchanan, and on the 8th of August of the same year he wrote a letter to the *Lancaster Journal* acknowledging that he was the member of Congress referred to by General Jackson—indeed, think the General had already, in some subsequent letter to that of the 6th of June, disclosed his name—and substantially denying General Jackson's version of the interview. From this letter I make the following extract:

"When the editor of the *United States Telegraph*, on the 12th of October last, asked me by letter for information upon this subject, I promptly informed him by the returning mail on the 16th of that month, that I had no authority from Mr. Clay, or his friends, to propose any terms to General Jackson, in relation to their votes; nor did I ever make any such proposition."

Whether Mr. Buchanan's claim to the fellowship of the Old Whigs will be allowed by them is a question which they will answer for themselves, and I have but little doubt that the answer will be such as ought to be given in response to such a request.

Mr. Chairman, the portions of the platform referring to the foreign policy of the country are as objectionable and even more alarming than those which relate to its domestic affairs. They are in *pari materia*, and look to the same object, namely, the enlargement of the area of Slavery within the boundaries of the United States—either by pushing Slavery over the Territories, or the former by the acquisition of Cuba, and portions, it may be, of Central America and Mexico by purchase, or their forcible seizure by the arm of the United States, directly, or through the agency of the buccannering policy avowed at Cincinnati, and blown in the face of the civilized world. The filibustering resolutions of the Democratic Convention must be read and interpreted in the light of the doings of the celebrated Ostend Conference.

Here is one of the resolutions:

"Resolved, That the Democratic party will expect of the next Administration, that every proper effort will be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain a permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil, and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our Western valleys, and of the Union at large."

If any one doubts that this means Cuba certainly, and other acquisitions probably, let him read the official report of that Conference, made on the 18th of October, 1854, and as he reads bear in mind that James Buchanan, whose name appears thereto, is the man whom the Democracy hope to place at the head of the next Administration, and that his associates at that Conference were Messrs. John Y. Mason and Pierre Soulé.

From this report, made by Messrs. Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, I desire to read some extracts: "There has been a full and unreserved interchange of views and sentiments between us, which we are most happy to inform you has resulted in a cordial coincidence of opinion on the grave and important subjects submitted to our consideration."

"We have arrived at the conclusion, and are thoroughly convinced, that an immediate and earnest effort ought to be made by the Government of the United States to purchase Cuba from Spain, at any price for which it can be obtained, not exceeding the sum of — dollars."

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"From its locality, it commands the mouth of the Mississippi, and the immense annually increasing trade which must seek this avenue to the ocean. On the numerous navigable streams, measuring an aggregate course of thirty thousand miles, which disembody themselves through this magnificent river into the Gulf of Mexico, the increase of the population within the last ten years amounts to more than that of the entire Union at the time Louisiana was annexed to it."

"The natural and main outlet to the products of this entire population, the highway of their direct intercourse with the Atlantic and the Pacific States, can never be secure, but must ever be endangered, while Cuba is a dependency of a distinct Power, in whose possession it has proved to be a source of constant annoyance and embarrassment to their interests."

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"But if Spain, deaf to the voice of her own interest, and actuated by stubborn pride and a false sense of honor, should refuse to sell Cuba to the United States, then the question will arise, what ought to be the course of the American Government, under such circumstances?"

"Self-preservation is the first law of nature with States as well as with individuals. All nations have, at different periods, acted upon this maxim. Although it has been made the pretext for committing flagrant injustice, as in the partition of Poland, and other similar cases which history records, yet the principle itself,

though often abused, has always been recognised."

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"Our past history forbids that we should acquire the Island of Cuba without the consent of Spain, unless justified by the great law of self-preservation. We must, in any event, preserve our own conscious rectitude and our own self-respect. Whilst pursuing this course, we can afford to disregard the censures of the world, to which we have been so often and so unjustly exposed."

"After we shall have offered Spain a price for Cuba far beyond its present value, and this shall have been refused, it will then be time to consider the question, Does Cuba, in the possession of Spain, seriously endanger our internal peace, and the existence of our cherished Union?"

"Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power; and this upon the very same principle that would justify an individual in tearing down the burning house of his neighbor, if there were no other means of preventing the flames from destroying his own home."

"Under such circumstances, we ought neither to count the cost nor regard the odds which Spain might enlist against us. We forbear to enter into the question, whether the present condition of the island would justify such a measure. We should, however, be recreant to our duty, be unworthy of our gallant forefathers, and commit base treason against our posterity, should we permit Cuba to be Africanized, and become a second St. Domingo, with all its attendant horrors to the white race, and suffer the flames to extend to our neighboring shores, seriously to endanger or actually to consume the fair fabric of our Union. We fear that the course and current of events are rapidly tending towards such a catastrophe. We, however, hope for the best, though we ought certainly to be prepared for the worst."

General Pierce having broken down the barrier of the Missouri Compromise, and prepared the way for the introduction of Slavery into the Territories of the United States, it is to be the mission of Mr. Buchanan's Administration, if the American people shall see fit to elect him, to extend Slavery in another direction, and, if necessary, by a resort to the means indicated and shadowed forth in the foregoing extracts. And I think I have read in some of the papers that he was to be supported as the safe and conservative candidate! Sir, if any man, at any time, in this country or any other, for the last three centuries, has avowed doctrines more shameless and atrocious than are contained in this report, I have never read or heard of him. Other nations may have contemplated and executed schemes similar to that which engaged the attention of the conference at Ostend; but it was reserved to American diplomatists, in the last half of the nineteenth century, to openly avow the purpose and justify the principle which it involves.

But, sir, it is an inexpressible relief to emerge

from this dark and fetid atmosphere, reeking with shames and wrongs, into the clear light and healthful breezes of Truth and Liberty. A few days since, upon the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, and in the city where sat the convention which declared "THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT: THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL; THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS; THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS," assembled another convention, composed of men devoted to the cause, and full of the spirit which animated their predecessors. That convention designated as the standard-bearer of Freedom in this great contest, a strong and true man, whose aim will be to maintain the principles of the Constitution, and bring back the Government to the policy of Washington and Jefferson. It also adopted a platform which recognises a North as well as a South, and respects the rights of Freedom as not less sacred than the claims of Slavery. In this assemblage of freemen were the warm and devoted friends of the able and ever-faithful Chief Magistrate of the Buckeye State, who properly urged his great qualifications for the highest position in the Republic. There, too, were the supporters of the accomplished jurist, the tried patriot, and the Christian gentleman, John McLean. And there, from every State and section, were hosts of admirers of the foremost man of this country, and the first of living statesmen, recognized in both hemispheres as the truest representative of what is best in the civilization of the age. I need not pronounce the name of the great Senator from New York.

"Disce, puer, virtutem ex me, verumque laborem;
Fortunam ex aliis."

But, sir, the ingenuous youth of America, who shall study aright his life and character, will learn not merely this, but the nobler lesson, that there is no higher fortune than attends him who, in the hour of extremest peril, faithfully serves and wisely saves his country.

Mr. Chairman, the friends of these gentlemen, and of all others whose names, whether with

their own consent or not, were before the convention, cheerfully and cordially united, as the best thing which could be done in this exigency, in presenting to the people of the United States, as the anti-sectional and Republican candidate for President, the name of the brave and chivalrous gentleman, who, more than any other man perhaps, contributed to place the star of California in the galaxy of free States—a name which is at once a synonym of the cause, and a prophecy of success.

Sir, I triumph in the faith, nay, the undoubted conviction, that the proceedings of that convention will be sustained by a large majority of the American people. How can it be doubted? Look around you—to Kansas, to the White House, to this Capitol—and tell me if you can doubt it, unless you are prepared to believe that Civilization and Republicanism are failures, and only Slavery and Barbarism possible upon the earth! Doubt it! No; for you have seen that the same spirit which has always animated brave men in great emergencies, possesses and guides your brethren now; and you have witnessed how the freshly-committed and still-augmenting crimes against Liberty and Humanity have put fire into their bones, and strength into their arms. Doubt it! No; for in the vast assemblies of the free North, you have taken by the hand men of all political parties, who, sinking past differences, have nobly united to save their country, and you have felt the power which lies in magnanimity and moral heroism. Doubt it! No; for, from the throbbing hearts of your countrymen, your spirit hears, in all hours and places, the earnest and stirring invocation—

"Gather you, gather you, angels of God—
Freedom, and Mercy, and Truth;
Come! for the earth has grown coward and old—
Come down and renew us her youth,
Wisdom, Self-sacrifice, Daring, and Love,
Haste to the battle field, stoop from above,
To the day of the Lord at hand."

And with these allies, for they are never summoned in vain in a cause like this, there can be no such thing as failure.

WASHINGTON. D. C.
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